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[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. [423] Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-á-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

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A C 242 decrease in productivity. In turn, of course, the poor output results in higher prices for seeds, flour, and other products.

A C 241 The expenditure of labor needed to prepare the soil is not great. No exceptional traction is required, and generally a 20-centimeter depth of pulverization is sufficient. In effect, this means that disc plowing and other operations could be performed adequately with ox traction. The only exception to this occurs near the coast, where there are still large stands of trees.

For cereals, a field might receive from one to three plowings. *Chacarería*, especially potatoes, requires more effort; labor is performed with greater care. In red-clay soils, fields are prepared (*barbecho*) in August and September; in loamy soil preparation may take place in October, November, and even December. For the rest of the agricultural work, the season is largely optional, depending on weather conditions.

About 60 per cent of the arable land in Cautín Province is at present planted annually by machine. This indicates a great increase in the use of tractors and seeding equipment among the large landowners and those who depend upon them for the rental of farm equipment.

A C 243 Of all crops grown, wheat is the most important and accounts for about three-fourths of the land cultivated annually. Winter wheat predominates over spring wheat in a ratio of 15:1. Winter varieties are planted in April-May and into July. About half the wheat is sown broadcast, and the quantity of seed used fluctuates between a maximum of about 180 kilograms per hectare to a minimum of 120. Returns per hectare vary between 6 and 25 metric quintals (a metric quintal equals 100 kilograms), averaging 10. The Mapuche tend to A sow less seed per hectare (between 90 and 100 kilograms) and have [433] sparser harvests.

A C [433] Oats follow wheat in importance, their average yield being about 8 metric quintals per hectare. Barley and rye are also grown, with apparently favorable results in areas not well suited for wheat, but the amount is too small to have an appreciable effect on the trend in farm production.

A C [244] Harvesting begins in the first half of January if the fields are dry. Oats are generally harvested first, wheat next along with linseed, and then lentils, peas, and potatoes. The season ends in May. More than 40 per cent of the cereal crop is harvested entirely by machine, the

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RESERVATIONS

It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, depending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

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used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

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ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

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243 [407] [433] amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

244 [960]

233 554 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

[962]

236 [962] Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

236 232

231 492 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

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A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land – the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

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abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

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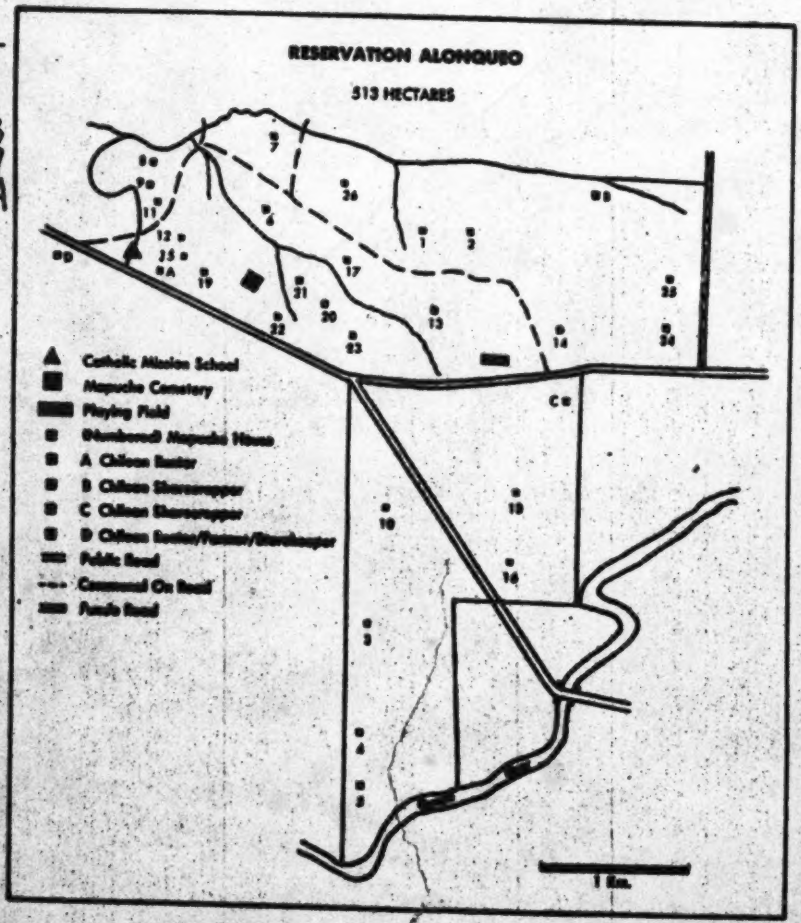
in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades. Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, largely through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes



MAP II

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Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[896] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pas-
24 turing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
[242] gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[922] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[222] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources
[226] were not tapped.

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the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito*, but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

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In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded. There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a number of the Mapuche — an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief. There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[1] [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan — ANALYST]

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tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the Indians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kerosene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate (Paraguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

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quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. This is the practice of buying *cuechar en yerba* and is especially pernicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made available to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Mapuche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

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453 credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

433 The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *division*) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

429 Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo division so that

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of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1958, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, many residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonquen, twelve are involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *mediero*s. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regularly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

On reservation Alonquen, the *mediero* system is not very important with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 363 animals (263 sheep and 100 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonquen. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

Reservation Llaneman: Pelehue Region. The 233 hectares comprising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

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Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half-share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chileans. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares.

There is greater poverty on Liancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *medieros* who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population.

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vegs* (swampland and large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing throughout the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly in the *mediero* system on Liancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore, no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of the 327 animals involved on Liancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle), 71 are on a half-share basis.

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than a poverty in animals. Liancaman is not overgrazed. No family has any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op-

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erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

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meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society.

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods.

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three-

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Interpretative Summary

The Mapuche have made major adjustments to basic economic and political forces which have impinged upon them since the inception of the reservation system of 1884, but the contemporary structure of Mapuche society has been in relative equilibrium since around the turn of the century. The most outstanding accommodation made by the Mapuche has been to the reservation system itself. Mapuche society today constitutes a successful reintegration of traditional patterns within the matrix of reservation life. The success of the reintegration is measurable by the distinctiveness of Mapuche society and culture, the functional efficacy of cultural values measurable by the degree to which Mapuche society is today integrated around them in distinction to Chilean peasant society.

The policy of reducing the Mapuche to reservation living has resulted in a significant environmental change – the artificial restriction of farm and pasture land. This did not present major economic problems at first, the adjustment even strengthening existing economic and political institutions, and the entire change working against the Chilean ambition for the disintegration of Mapuche society. With expanding population the matter has become serious to the Mapuche, and the continuing accommodation difficult.

An economic reaction to pacification and reservation life has been a change from desultory horticulture to field agriculture, with a shift

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177 24 433 105 from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of regional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat, oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants [161] are similar if not identical—which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable"—the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

186 180 105 The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenacity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language, dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneurialism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but 177 182 as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened" 648 manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired adherents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community 105 is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

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17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
177 are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land.
178 Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and technological anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
182 consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeniable ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*awn, ñillatun, machitun, kalkutun* (see below)—bind together

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of

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476 464 622 182 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 622 476 464 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, eventually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 178 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves [476] [464] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *caciquillo* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

592 178 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic economic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other 433 178 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public ceremonies. 433 There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will [128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta mano*, the *mediero* or half-share system, and *mingaco*.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are *misha*. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, reaffirmed seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families as new generations mature.

The *mediero* system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditure. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

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family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of *ñillatun* and *ɑwn* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.